

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF EDITORIAL TREATMENT OF DAWN AND THE NEWS REGARDING LAL MASJID OPERATION

¹Muhammad Hassam, ²Zafar Ali, ³Ashraf Iqbal and ⁴M. Riaz Raza

¹Student, Department of Mass Communication, G. C. University, Faisalabad, Pakistan.

²PhD Scholar, Department of Mass Communication, Gomal University, D. I. Khan, Pakistan.

³Assistant Professor, Department of Mass Communication, Government College University Faisalabad, Pakistan.

⁴PhD Scholar, Department of Mass Communication, Gomal University, D. I. Khan, Pakistan.

Abstract: *Lal Masjid operation was one of the hot issues of Musharraf regime. Media disseminate the information to the people in many ways. No doubt the media has strong social and cultural impact on any society. Pakistani media portrayed Lal Masjid operation with different angles and with different point of views. Lal Masjid issue was attracting the full attraction of the media at the time when issue of national importance such as the independence of the judiciary and the decision on the fate of the chief justice media gave full time coverage to the Lal Masjid issue before the world. Media is considered fourth pillar of society and a free market of ideas. It guides, moulds and forms public opinion. People come to know about different issues after analyzing media opinion about it. This study has equipped for the method of content analysis of elite English newspapers of Pakistani press.*

Keywords: Agenda setting, Media Framing, Pakistani media, Content analysis

INTRODUCTION

In modern-age, mass media has assumed the role of a guide in daily life of everybody. It is used as instrument of policy by the Governments and States. Its power, influence and impact know no bounds. The speed of information communication is just flabbergasting. The volume of output of print and electronic media is simply overwhelming. International electronic media brings us latest news of events, and developments instantly. It continuously shapes and reshapes our opinions attitudes and perceptions.

According to Abbas (2003) there cannot be two opinions on the deep, lasting and wide spread impact of media on the masses. Being an agent of socio-political, economic and cultural change in our age, media can disrupt a society or can stabilize and strengthen a society. It can lend decisive support to the stability of a country. Until and unless there is awareness among the masses about a policy, programme and actions of the State regarding a problem, there cannot be public participation in the process of socio-economic developments. And it is only an effective media which can bring about and

Corresponding Author: Ashraf Iqbal, Department of Mass Communication, G. C. University, Faisalabad, Pakistan. E-mail: ashraf_zahidi@yahoo.com

ensure such an awareness in a given country and society.^[1]

Press is one of the most original and earliest forms of media to articulate human expression. In Pakistan, press is considered as the most, credible and responsible member of the mass media channels. It is also considered that the print media is more credible than electronic media. Print media plays important role regarding the national and international issues.

Media can play an important part in the resolution of conflict between two parties but also at the same time media can escalate the conflict. At the time of Lal Masjid issue, some Pakistani newspapers and channels were against the operation and insisting the government to resolve the issue with talks. Some were in support of the operation and also criticizing the government for delaying the operation. Media can mould the opinion of public with his power and also it has power to set its agenda about any issue. So at the time of Lal Masjid gave much importance to that issue.

In the last Month of Musharraf government Lal Masjid operation (operation silence) was take place. Siege of Lal Masjid was confirmation in July 2007 centered on the Lal Masjid and Jamia Hafsa complex in Islamabad Pakistan between Lal Masjid administration, students, and the government of Pakistan. The Lal Masjid complex was siege from July 3 to 11 July 2007.

Rationale of Study

Lal Masjid issue has very long lasting effect on our society. Musharaf government faced a lot of criticism due to Lal Masjid issue. Lal Masjid issue is very important .We are living in a Islamic society and in Islam mosque is important place for Muslims and they have special attachment with it. So people thought that why there was need of operation in Lal Masjid.

The researcher want to study the role of media on Lal Masjid operation because media is important source of information and people analyze issue after analyzing media content about the issue. How media portrayed this issue before the public? Media have their own policy or agenda for Lal Masjid issue as how much coverage has to be given to it, and how a Lal Masjid issue was framed for public. So it is important to analyze the tone of media get changed on issues about Lal Masjid. It is considered that tone of

media has been changed on issues. So this study is very important and purposeful for analyzing the role of media about serious and national issue.

Objectives of Study

1. To know about the Lal Masjid issue
2. To find out the role of media on Lal Masjid issue
3. To find out how much coverage was given to this issue by print media.
4. To know the tone of media about Lal Masjid issue.
5. To find out how media is dealing with our national issue.
6. To know how media escalate or resolve conflict.

BACK GROUND OF STUDY

Syed Shoaib Hassan in defined the history of Lal Masjid that it was founded by Maulana Qari Abdullah in 1965. In English, Lal Masjid means "Red Mosque"; the name refers to the mosque's red walls and interiors. Abdullah taught radical Islam, giving speeches on jihad during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Since its founding, Lal Masjid was frequented by leaders in the Pakistani military and government. Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, the Army Chief of Staff who became president after seizing power in a coup d'état in 1977, was close to Abdullah. The mosque is located near the headquarters of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence, and several ISI staff were said to go there for prayers. After the Soviet war in Afghanistan ended in 1989, the mosque continued to function as a center for radical Islamic learning and housed several thousand male and female students in adjacent seminaries. Maulana Qari Abdullah was assassinated at the mosque in 1998 and since then, the entire complex was run by his sons, Maulana Abdul Aziz and Abdul Rashid Ghazi. The brothers admitted to having had good contacts with many of the wanted leaders of al-Qaeda, including Osama bin Laden.

On the web of Jamia Hafsa information was given about Jamia Hafsa. Jamia Hafsa was a female madrassa located near Lal Masjid. It was the largest Islamic religious institute for women in the world, with more than 6,000 female students. It was constructed by Maulana Qari Abdullah in 1992 but

was placed under the supervision of Maulana Abdul Aziz after his father's assassination. Although the students were taught general subjects including math and geography, they were not tested on them. Their exams were only on matters relating to Islam.

Hasan (2008)^[2] wrote that following the September 11, 2001 attacks upon the United States, Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf announced his support for the U.S.-led War on Terror, sparking conflict with Lal Masjid, whose leadership was openly pro-Taliban. Maulana Abdul Aziz and Abdul Rashid Ghazi denied having any links with banned terrorist organizations but were vehement in their opposition to the War on Terror and the occupation of Afghanistan. They also had openly condemned Musharraf and opposed Pakistani security forces, including the Pakistan Rangers and Islamabad Capital Territory police. In July 2005, Pakistani authorities attempted to raid the mosque in connection with the investigation into the 7 July 2005 London bombings, but police were blocked by baton-wielding female students. However, after the raid the authorities ended up apologizing for the behavior by the police.

Declan said that during 2006 and the first half of 2007, students and leadership of the mosque continued to challenged the authority of the Islamabad government, calling for Islamic law and an end to cooperation with the United States. They also launched an anti-vice campaign, kidnapping alleged prostitutes and burning films. Most of the students in the mosque were from the North-West Frontier Province which borders Afghanistan.^[3]

Hasan wrote that a confrontation took place when the mosque launched a campaign against the demolition of mosques in Islamabad by the Capital Development Authority. After an illegally-constructed mosque was destroyed, students of the seminaries launched an all-out campaign against the government. They prevented the authorities from reaching the site and then occupied the building of a nearby children's library. This was mostly done by the female students, many of whom were carrying machine guns. The students then set up a round-the-clock vigil and promised to "fight to the death" after the government threatened to evict them. The situation was only defused after the authorities backed down and offered talks. The government later reconstructed the demolished part of the mosque compound, but the

mosque leadership demanded that six demolished mosques around the capital city be rebuilt.^[4]

Times of India (2007)^[5] it was published that female students from Jamia Hafsa kidnapped three women they accused of running a brothel and then seized two policemen. All of them were released after the women supposedly admitted to running the brothel and were shown to the media wearing burqas. The neighborhood police station had allegedly been told about the kidnapping by the students earlier, which approved of it. On April 6, Maulana Abdul Aziz established a sharia court directly parallel to Pakistan's federal judicial system and pledged thousands of suicide attacks if the government tried to shut it down. Students remained in occupation of the library and continued to challenge the control of the government by a raiding a brothel. They also kidnapped ten Chinese nationals, several law enforcement officials, women and children. A soft approach taken by the Pakistani government in dealings with the mosque led to accusations of leniency on the part of Musharraf. After a gun battle with Pakistani troops, students set fire to a Ministry of Environment building nearby Lal Masjid.

Raza and Munawar said that on July 3, 2007, a gun battle erupted between the students of Lal Masjid and Pakistani security forces when Jamia Hafsa students stole radio sets and weapons from the Pakistan Rangers deployed in a nearby post. Riot police then fired tear gas shells to disperse the students. About 150 Lal Masjid students attacked the Ministry of Environment office building, setting fire and setting many vehicles ablaze. The fighting continued and left nine people dead and about 150 injured. Among the dead were four students of the mosque, a TV news channel cameraman, a businessman and a pedestrian. Within minutes, security forces closed off the area and emergency was declared in the capital's hospitals. Sporadic clashes continued as Pakistan Army troops were deployed.^[7]

The next day, authorities announced an indefinite curfew on the students of the mosque in Sector G-6 of Islamabad, where Lal Masjid is located. A command was issued to shoot anyone coming out of the mosque with weapons. The government offered those inside the mosque who exited unarmed Rs. 5,000 (about USD 83 or GBP 41), and free education. Women inside the mosque were also offered safe passage to their homes. The deadline was regularly

extended as mosque leaders employed a strategy of allowing a certain number of students to surrender during the passage of each deadline, requiring security forces to re-negotiate an extension. Government authorities announced the first deadline for students and persons present inside the Lal Masjid to surrender unconditionally by 1530 Pakistan Standard Time (PST), and it was thereafter extended to 1600, 1800, 1930 and 2130. The government said that as many as 600 armed militants are still hold up inside the mosque (BBC News).^[8]

Before dawn on July 5, Pakistani troops set off a series of explosions around the mosque. While gunfire was exchanged throughout the day, the clashes apparently stopped. Extension of deadlines continued on July 5 with the strategy for the government to evacuate the mosque and Jamia Hafsa before the final operation took place. Interior Minister Aftab Ahmad Sherpao announced at a press conference that it was believed that 300–400 students remained in the mosque, 50–60 of whom were militants. The head of the mosque, Maulana Abdul Aziz, was captured attempting to leave disguised in a burqa after the fourth deadline. After Aziz's capture, about 800 male students and 400 female students of Jamia Hafsa surrendered to the authorities. Abdul Aziz's younger brother, Ghazi Abdul Rashid, had been negotiating with a government mediator. He claimed that he and the remaining students would be willing to exit the mosque and lay down their arms provided the government stopped firing on them and granted them amnesty. However, government officials were skeptical that Abdul Rashid would honor his word. In one of the telephone interviews from one of the live transmissions of Geo TV on Thursday July 5, 2007, Ghazi Abdul Rashid denied all charges on him and said he was innocent. He further negotiated with the government to deal with him on safe passage and no harm to his companions inside, besides a request to take care of his ailing mother. However, the government asked him to surrender unconditionally along with armed students.(BBC News)

The siege continued on July 6. Many negotiation talks were held between the besieged Lal Masjid administration and the government authorities, without a positive outcome. A further twenty-one student surrendered to the authorities, and two students were killed in a shooting. The government decided to give more time for the safe evacuation of

students from the besieged mosque. President Pervez Musharraf issued an ultimatum on Saturday evening. The Pakistani army took control of the operation, replacing the paramilitary troops who were earlier deployed near the premises. One child, aged 13, successfully escaped from the besieged mosque (BBC News).^[9]

Pakistani commandos raided the outer perimeter of the compound blasting holes through the walls of the mosque to help women and children escape. The raids began shortly after 1:00 am (20:00 GMT) on July 7 and were met with heavy fire. SSG Commander Lt. Col. Haroon-ul-Islam, who had been leading the operation until he was wounded on July 6, later died in hospital on the night of July 8. However the commandos succeeded and the boundary wall of Lal Masjid and the Jamia Hafsa collapsed. Abdul Rashid Ghazi said they would not surrender and that they had enough weapons and rations to last a month (Daily Times).^[10]

On July 9, a group representing Pakistani madrassas, headed by Maulana Salimullah Khan, called for an immediate cessation of the Lal Masjid operation. Finland also temporarily closed its embassy in Islamabad on July 9 due to the deteriorating security situation and the close proximity of the embassy to the mosque compound. By July 10 the Pakistani government also reported that there were still 100 militants, and 300 to 400 women and children inside the mosque (Dawn).^[11]

Predator unmanned aerial vehicles flew over Lal Masjid and Jamia Hafsa on July 8 and July 9 capturing images of the movements of people inside. The security forces had the images taken to study the claims of Ghazi Abdul Rashid regarding casualties and damage caused to Lal Masjid and Jamia Hafsa. The UAVs flew over the Lal Masjid and Jamia Hafsa for more than an hour from 2:40 to 4:00 a.m. High Officials and the Security Forces examined the pictures directly and relayed the information directly to the command post on the ground. The UAV was given to Pakistan by the United States for the War on Terror to combat terrorists. The strategic planning for the assault on the mosque was formulated from information gathered by the drone. Pakistan deployed some of its best security units to attack the militants from the mosque. These include the Army's 111th Brigade, its elite strike force, the Special Service Group (SSG), the 9th wing of the Pakistan Rangers

paramilitary force and the anti-terrorism squad of the Punjab police (On line News Pakistan).^[12]

On the morning of July 10, minutes after former Prime Minister Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain and Federal Religious Affairs Minister Muhammad Ijaz-ul-Haq and their delegation left the area, declaring that negotiations via loudspeaker and mobile phone intended to end the siege peacefully had failed, Pakistani special forces commandos, the Special Service Group, were issued orders to storm the mosque. Pakistan Army spokesman Waheed Arshad said that the troops began by attacking and breaching the mosque from the south and assaulted it in three directions at 4:00 a.m. (23:00 GMT). The forces immediately came under a hail of gunfire from heavily armed militants hunkered down behind sandbagged positions on the roof and from holes in the walls of the mosque. The SSG were quickly able to clear the mosque's ground floor, amid explosions coming from the mosque. About 30 women and children ran towards the advancing troops and managed to escape unharmed (MWC News),^[13]

Shakeel Anjum explained the story of Lal Masjid. While the SSG were securing the ground floor of the mosque, they were continuously fired on from the mosque's minarets which slowed down the operation. Atop the mosque roof, the militants had piled sandbags at the foot of the minarets which they used to climb up in order to shoot at troops below. After the minarets were taken, the SSG progressed deeper into the complex, and the militants threw petrol bombs in an attempt to set fire to the mosque to stop the assault but were unsuccessful. Once the ground floor was secured, the SSG attempted to enter the Jamia Hafsa madrassa adjoining the mosque. The militants had laid a large number of booby traps that again held up the SSG as they had to be disabled before they could storm into Jamia Hafsa complex.^[14]

The SSG entered the Jamia Hafsa complex, which also served as the living quarters of Abdul Rashid Ghazi, and were engaged in an intense firefight in the main courtyard. Militants fired on them from makeshift bunkers beneath the stairwell. Army spokesman Arshad later claimed that the militants must have been fortifying the bunkers for several months. Once the courtyard had been cleared, the SSG proceeded inside the Jamia Hafsa building, which is a sprawling labyrinthine religious school for females. Militants inside the building were armed with guns

and rockets. Some areas inside were also booby-trapped. Some militants had bullet- and explosion-proof vests, and other highly sophisticated and modern weapons. The SSG suffered most of their casualties during the battle to take over the complex. During close quarter combat, the SSG were attacked with smoke grenades, incendiary grenades, and fragmentation grenades. Twenty-nine of the thirty-three SSG commandos that were injured in the operation got their injuries from fragmentation grenades. As the fighting continued, the SSG came upon a room where half a dozen militants were present; one of the militants then detonated his suicide jacket killing everyone in the room. It took several hours of intense fighting before the SSG took control of the Jamia Hafsa, with only the basement left to be pacified (Gulf Times).^[15]

Arshad said troops had secured 80 percent of the complex and were moving slowly as the resistance was intense in the remaining areas. Heavily armed militants had retreated into the basement using women and children as human shields, and the standoff continued. The militants in the basement resisted with machine guns, rocket launchers, and Molotov cocktails. In a last interview with Geo TV during the operation, Abdul Rashid Ghazi, who was hunkered down in the basement claimed that his mother had been wounded by gunfire and was quoted as saying "The government is using full force. This is naked aggression... my martyrdom is certain now". Ghazi also claimed that 30 rebels were still battling Pakistani troops but they only had 14 AK-47s. From the basement, the militants continued to fire at the SSG commandos from ventilation grilles. During the firefight, Abdul Rashid Ghazi was shot in the leg and was asked to surrender. However, other militants in the room fired back at the SSG, and Ghazi was killed in the cross fire. Further reports say that Ghazi came out of a bunker to surrender but was shot by his militants. The fighting continued until the last of the militants trapped in the basement were either killed or had surrendered (Pakistan Times).^[16]

Behind an Army cordon, emergency workers waited for clearance to enter Lal Masjid and female police officers were present to handle female survivors or casualties. Other relatives of the militants inside the Lal Masjid were also behind the cordon. The Associated Press reported, "The siege has given the neighborhood the look of a war zone, with troops

manning machine guns behind sandbagged posts and from the top of armored vehicles (China Daily).^[17]

On July 11, officials reported that the Lal Masjid complex had been cleared of militants and troops were combing the area for booby traps and explosives. The eight-day Lal Masjid operation was the longest ever conducted by the Special Services Group (SSG), the elite strike force of the Pakistan Army. According to Inter-Services Public Relations, a bevy of weapons were recovered from bullet-riddled Lal Masjid and Jamia Hafsa complex, which included Russian made RPG and Chinese variant RPG-7 rockets, Anti-tank and anti-personnel landmines, suicide bombing belts, three to five .22 caliber rifles, RPD, RPK and RPK-74 light machine guns, Dragunov sniper rifles, SKS rifles, AK-47s, pistols, night vision equipment, and over 50,000 rounds of various caliber ammunition. Lesser sophisticated items and weaponry to be recovered from the complex included three crates of petrol bombs prepared from green soft drink bottles, gas masks, recoilless rifles, two-way radios, large plastic buckets containing homemade bombs the size of tennis balls, as well as bladed weapons such as knives (Daily Jang).^[18]

The Inspector General of Police reported that from July 3 till July 11, 1,096 people—628 men, 465 women and 3 children—had come out or had been rescued from the complex. The IGP also confirmed that 102 people had been killed during the operation—91 civilians, 10 Special Service Group and one Rangers soldier—including the 16 deaths on July 10. A total of 248 people were injured—204 civilians, 41 army soldiers and 3 Rangers personnel. Seventy-five bodies were recovered from the premises of the complex at the end of the operation (Pakistan Times).^[19]

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review is the spring board for any research study. A literature review is a systematic search and analysis of published information that accredited scholars and researchers have written on a topic. It is organized according to the research objective, thesis, or the problem / issues that a researcher wishes to address. Literature review grants you the knowledge in your area of focus and reduces the chances of the duplication of ideas. Most

importantly, it helps to indicate the direction of your research scope to maximize the reward of your research efforts (Cooper, 1998).^[20]

Rafiq (2007) studied that the News and Dawn published maximum anti government editorials on judicial crises. Regarding the impression of editorials English press of Pakistan gave political impression or politicized the judicial crises. Newspaper did not give much importance to judicial crises and did not utilize the freedom of expression. An impression that might be some political factors influence a newspaper's priorities and tone of editorial coverage.^[21]

Tawab (2000) studied the coverage of women rights in daily elite English newspapers. Dawn and The News both news papers are privately owned however it is influenced by the Government because of its dependence on governments advertisements to a great extent. As Altschull 1984 maintained that the official and commercial patterns influence on the newspaper has played significant role in shaping the policy of the organization in accordance with the government and financiers aspirations.^[22]

Abbas said media is in fact, a mirror of society which can remove negative spots by showing its face in this mirror. Thus media can play a diagnostic role in pointing out the negative tendencies and suggest ways and means to counter such tendencies. Media can stabilize or destabilize a society or a country and Pakistan cannot be an exception.^[23]

Vladimir and Lisa^[24] said that the media can increase cognitive change by supplying people with information, thus helping to set the public agenda and frame the scope of public discussion through providing and limiting the range of ideas from which to choose. Messages can be crafted through: peace (conflict-sensitive) journalism; facilitating dialogue between the parties, citizens, and the government; and amplifying the voice of different stakeholders in a conflict in a way that fosters analysis of both differences and common ground (so-called "megaphone diplomacy"). Peace journalism which advocates for conflict transformation through constructive discourse proactively constructs the problems of conflicting group objectives and needs within their cultural and historic context in order to enhance dialogue rather than escalate conflict.

Young (1991) described that the media can contribute to conflict escalation, either directly or indirectly. Experienced war reporters observe that

sometimes the very presence of cameras will prompt the sides to start shooting. Terrorists often rely on the media. Terrorist attacks may be calculated to draw media attention, and so draw attention to their cause. In the absence of media coverage, many types of terrorism would be useless.^[25]

Pruitt & Rubin (1986) stated that escalation is the increase in intensity of a conflict. Perhaps the most destructive conflict dynamic, the cycle of provocation and counter-provocation eventually results in the replacement of substantive debate with increasingly hateful and sometimes violent confrontations directed more at hurting opponents than at advancing interests. This process plays a crucial role in the long slide toward war and the crossing of taboo lines which normally restrain our most inhuman impulses. It can also lead people to take ever more extreme and unjustifiable positions. Escalation alone is sufficiently powerful to transform what should be a tractable dispute into one that is virtually impossible to resolve.^[26]

Manoff (1997) in his paper "The Media's Role in Preventing and Moderating conflict" which was prepared for the virtual Diplomacy conference in 1997 stated that the media is a double-edged sword. It can be a frightful weapon of violence when it propagates messages of intolerance or disinformation that manipulate public sentiment. Radio Mille Collines in Rwanda is one of the most appalling contemporary examples. Using a blend of popular entertainment and proselytizing by announcers, the government-supported broadcasts demonized one group of people and built resentment and fear among the other group.^[27]

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A theoretical framework is conceptual model of how one theory makes logical sense of the relationship among several factors that have been identified as important to the problem (Sekarran, 2000).^[28] Theoretical framework of this research has been chosen on the basis of the considered judgment of the researcher. Under the following theories the researcher has examined out his researcher.

- ⇒ Agenda setting
- ⇒ Framing

AGENDA SETTING

An agenda setting is one of the possible ways that mass media can have an effect on the public. An agenda is a list of things to be considered or acted upon. Agenda setting simply means that media has ability to choose and emphasize certain topics thereby causing the public to perceive these issues are important (Kosicki, 1993).^[29] Agenda setting idea appears in a 1953 article by Norton Long. In a sense, the newspaper is the prime mover in setting the territorial agenda. It has a great part in determining. What most people will be talking about, people thinks the facts are, and what most people will regard as the way problems are to be dealt with (Long, 1958).^[30]

The mass media force attention to certain issues. They build up public images of political figures. They are constantly presenting objects, suggestions what individuals in the mass should think about, know about, heaving feelings about (Lang and Lang, 1959).^[31]

Bernard Cohen (1963) also gave the idea of agenda setting. He started about the power of the press: it may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about.^[32] According to researcher Maxell Mc Combs and Donald Shaw (1972) audience not only learns about public issue and other matters through media, they also learn how much importance to attract to an issue or topic from the emphasis the mass media place upon it. Agenda setting is most appropriately categorized as a post positive theory and it is reasonable to evaluate agenda setting theory on the criteria of accuracy, consistency, simplicity, scope and fruitfulness.^[34]

FRAMING

Framing is technique most commonly employed in the mass media. It is frequently used in a vague way or as a metaphor. Framing appears useful to researcher as a means of referring to how an event is portrayed in a particular story, articles and any other journalistic item. This is a significant ratio in mass media research and theorization (Hallahan, 1999).^[35]

The concept of farming is tool for explaining the portrayal or presentation of the Lal Masjid issue in the editorials of Dawn and The News. According to Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) framing consist of three

elements language, thought and fore thought.^[36] Gitlin (1980) defines media frames as `` persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation of selection, emphasis and exclusion by which symbol handlers routinely organize discovers whether verbal or visual''. He suggest that if the media is to be seen as ``mirrors in a fun house''. He says that the framing of an issue is influenced by which of many bits of information are included in or excluded from a story. He says, ``Media are mobile spotlights not passive mirror of the society; selectivity is the instrument of their action. A news story adopts a certain frame and rejects or downplays material that is discrepant. A story is a choice, a way of screening an event that also amount to a way of screening from sight''.^[37]

The notion of media frame has been used loosely and often left undefined. It is frequently used in a vague way, or as a metaphor (Tankard et.al, 1991).^[38] Frame refers to the way media and media gatekeepers organize and present an events and issues they cover, and the way audiences interpret what they are provided. In general news frames are constructed from and embodied in the key words, metaphors, concepts, symbols emphasized in newspaper contents through repetition, placement and reinforcing association; the word and phrases the consist of frames render one basic interpretation more readily discernible, comprehensible and men or able then others.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

RQ 1: To what extent The Dawn gave editorial coverage to Lal Masjid issue?

RQ 2: To what extent The News gave editorial coverage to Lal Masjid issue?

RQ 3: To what extent the Dawn and the news have converged and diverged on Lal Masjid issue?

RQ 4: What type of Lal Masjid image was given by The Dawn and The news?

RQ 5: To what extent media play a role in Lal Masjid operation?

HYPOTHESIS

H₁: Media was biased in portraying the Lal Masjid issue for public.

METHODOLOGY

In this study, both quantitative and qualitative methods of content analysis have relied upon. Stuart Hall (1975) has been pointed out both qualitative and quantitative methodologies being with ``A long preliminary soak'' in the martial. Attempting to combine in content analysis is the qualitative approach seen to provide the possibility of combining the advantage the advantage of two approaches and of reducing their weakness, not just as a compromise between two extremes.^[39]

PRIMARY AS WELL AS SECONDARY SOURCES

This study relies on the primary as well as secondary sources such as newspapers (the Dawn and The News), communication theories, journals, and archival records pertaining to the study with emphasis on evolution and analysis rather than descriptions and narration of event.

Universe

To ``define the universe '' is to specify the boundaries of the body of content to be considered which requires as appropriate operational definition of the relevant population. All the unsigned editorials of Dawn and The News which would be related to Lal Masjid issue and portrayed the Lal Masjid issue will be selected as the universe for study.

Sampling

In this research work no sampling procedure has be adopted as the goal is to access the nature of editorial coverage on Lal Masjid issue. In this research all unsigned editorials of three months from May 18, 2007 to August 18, 2007 from both newspapers (The Dawn and The News) have been taken as a sample size.

Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis is the thing that is actually counted. It is the smallest of the content analysis but it is more important. It might be a single word or symbol a theme or an entire article or story (Wimmer, et.al.1991& Sarantakos, 1998).^[40] In this study the unit of analysis will be words, symbols, themes, sentences, paragraphs, or an entire editorial, which indicate the presence of one of the categories set by researcher about editorial published in the Dawn and The News during May 18, 2007 from August 17, 2007.

Since an unsigned editorial most often takes a stance on an issue, the of an editorial might be understood in parts. Therefore, it will appropriate to consider the editorial as the unit of analysis as well as unit of coding. In this study, contents of all those unsigned editorials will be analysis, which would be related to Lal Masjid issue. After coding these editorials direction of editorial contents will identified to examine the Lal Masjid issue in Dawn and The News.

Categories of Analysis

The heart art of any content analysis is the categories of analysis. The collection of data becomes possible through the construction of categories and the associated with them. A category a set of criteria, which ate integrated round a theme or value. A qualitative strategy of analyzing contents is used to explain the qualitative data and to interpret various frames.

Direction of contents

To measure the direction of the editorial contents of newspapers under study the researcher adopted the method that Berelson (1952) called “the totality of the impression”. To determine the direction of the contents of the editorials, data would be ranked on a four point scale: in the favor of operation (A), against the operation (B), neutral (C) and sideliner (D).

A. In favor of operation

All unsigned editorials of Dawn and The News which were supporting the Government agenda, criticizing the Government for not taking the action against Lal Masjid administration and criticizing the Lal Masjid student for their activities. These editorials considered as in the favor of operation.

B. Against the operation

All unsigned editorials of The Dawn and The News which were not supporting the Government agenda, insisting on the dialog with Lal Masjid

administration. Those editorials considered as against the operation.

C. Neutral

All unsigned editorial of The Dawn and The News which was not supporting the Government agenda, and also not supporting Lal Masjid administration but focusing that issues should be solved.

D. Sideliner

All unsigned editorial of The Dawn and The News which was not totally focused on Lal Masjid are consider as sideliner and Lal Masjid issue was discussed just an example or reminder.

DATA ANALYSIS

In this study the research used both qualitative and quantitative methods for the analysis of data.

Attempting to combine in content analysis the qualitative and quantitative approaches seem to provide the possibility of combining the advantage of the two approaches and of reducing their weaknesses.

Table: 1Comparative topical coverage of the editorials of Dawn, and the News

| Newspaper s | N | A | B | C | D |
|--------------|-------------|---------------------------|-----------------|----------|---------------------------|
| Dawn | N=18 | 13 72.2% | - | - | 5 27.7% |
| The News | N=25 | 14 56% | 2 8% | - | 9 36% |
| Total | N=43 | 27 62.79 % | 2 8% | - | 14 29.16 % |

N = Number of Editorials

A = In favor of Operation

B = against the Operation

C = Neutral

D = Sideliner

Table 1 show that the elite English press (Dawn and the News) wrote 43 editorials on Lal Masjid issue. Dawn wrote 18 editorials and the News wrote 25 editorials. Out of forty three editorials 27(67.79%) editorials were written in favor of operation, 2 (8%) editorials were written against the operation, 0 were neutral and 14 editorials were sideliner.

Dawn wrote 18 editorials on the issue out of which 13(72.2%) editorials were wrote in favor of operation, no editorial wrote against the operation, no editorial was neutral and 5(27.7%) editorials were side liner. The News wrote 25 editorials on the issue out of which 14(56%) editorials were wrote in favor of operation, 2(8%) were against the operation, no editorial was neutral and 14(29.16%) editorials were sideliner.

Table: 2. Measurement of the editorials of Dawn and the News before the operation

| | Freq u - ency | Percen t | Valid Percen t | Cumulati ve Percent |
|--------------|---------------|--------------|----------------|---------------------|
| Valid 0 | 37 | 82.2 | 82.2 | 82.2 |
| 3 | 1 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 84.8 |
| 9 | 1 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 87.0 |
| 15 | 1 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 89.1 |
| 22 | 1 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 91.3 |
| 28 | 2 | 4.3 | 4.3 | 95.7 |
| 46 | 1 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 97.8 |
| 50 | 1 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 100.0 |
| Total | 45 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Figure: 1

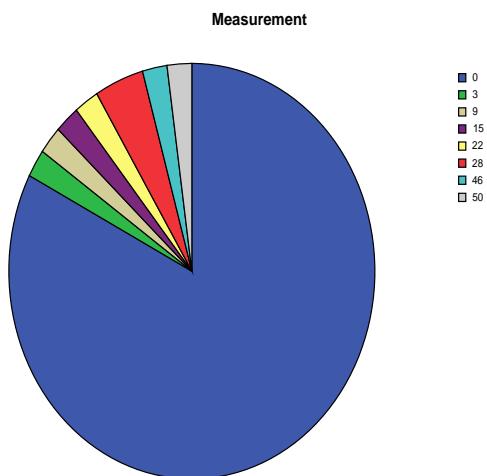
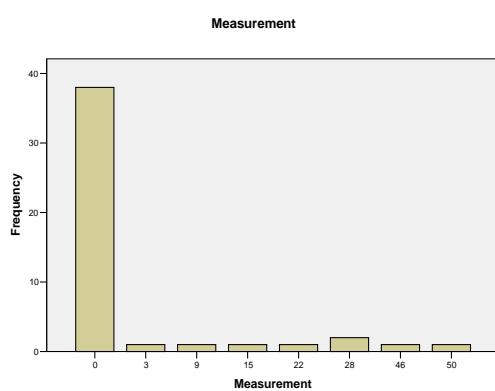


Figure: 2

Table no 2 and figure no 1 show that measurement of Dawn and the News editorial before the operation .Both newspaper published 8 editorials on Lal Masjid operation in 45 days .1 editorial of length 3ccm, 1 editorial of length 9ccm, 1 editorial of length 15ccm, 1 editorial of length 22ccm, 2 editorials of length 28ccm, 1 editorial of length 46ccm and 1 editorial of length 50ccm.

Table: 3. Measurement of the editorials of Dawn and the News after the operation

| Valid | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|--------------|-----------|--------------|---------------|--------------------|
| 0 | 22 | 48.8 | 48.8 | 48.8 |
| 28 | 1 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 52.2 |
| 34 | 1 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 54.3 |
| 36 | 1 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 56.5 |
| 38 | 1 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 58.7 |
| 42 | 1 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 60.9 |
| 43 | 1 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 63.0 |
| 46 | 1 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 65.2 |
| 47 | 2 | 4.4 | 4.3 | 69.6 |
| 49 | 1 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 71.7 |
| 61 | 1 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 73.9 |
| 71 | 1 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 76.1 |
| 77 | 1 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 78.3 |
| 82 | 1 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 80.4 |
| 92 | 1 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 82.6 |
| 93 | 1 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 84.8 |
| 95 | 2 | 4.4 | 4.3 | 89.1 |
| 96 | 1 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 91.3 |
| 102 | 1 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 93.5 |
| 105 | 1 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 95.7 |
| 110 | 1 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 97.8 |
| 122 | 1 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 100.0 |
| Total | 45 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

FIGURE 3

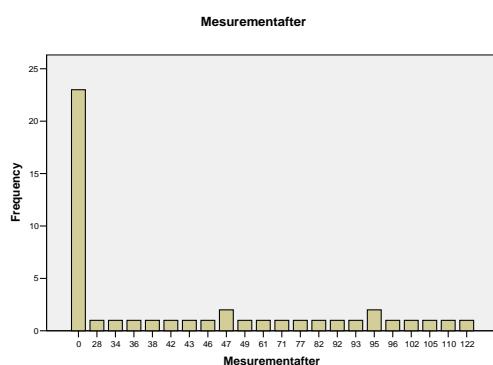


FIGURE 4

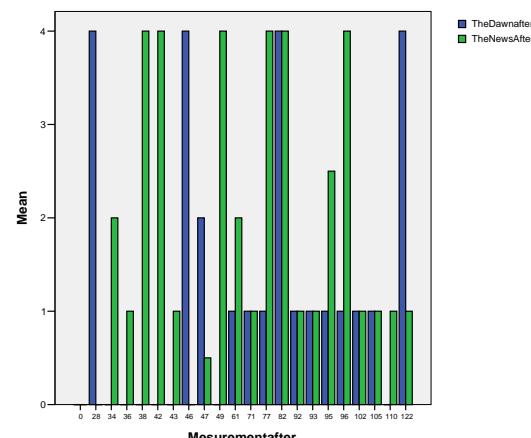


Table no 3 and figure no 3 show that measurement of Dawn and the News editorial after the operation .Both newspaper published 35 editorials on Lal Masjid operation in 45 days .1 editorial of length 28ccm,1 editorial of length 34ccm,1 editorial of length 36ccm,1 editorial of length 38ccm,1 editorials of length 42ccm,1 editorial of length 43ccm and 1 editorial of 46ccm,2 editorial of length 47ccm,1 editorial of length 49ccm,1 editorial of length 61ccm, 1 editorial of length 71ccm,1 editorial of length 77ccm,1 editorial of length 82ccm,1 editorial of length 92ccm, 1 editorial of length 93ccm,2 editorial of length 95ccm,1 editorial of length 102ccm, 1 editorial of length105ccm,1 editorial of length 110 and 1 editorial of length 122.figure 4 show total measurement of editorials of both papers.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The researcher used both methods for data analysis and finding. For quantitative method the researcher used table, pie charts and graphs. After analyzing data the finding are Dawn published 18 editorials on Lal Masjid issue from May 18, 2007 to August 17,2007.Out of these 18 editorials 13(72.2%) editorials were published in favor of operation, 5(27.7%) editorials were sideliner, no neutral editorial was published and also no editorial was against the operation.

Dawn published 3(16.6%) editorials before the operation from May 18, 2007 to July 2, 2007.All of these editorial were published in favor of operation. There was no editorial published against the operation, neutral and sideliner.

Dawn published 15 (83.3%) editorials were published after the operation. Out of these 15

editorials 10 (66.6%) editorials were published in favor of operation. 5(33.3%) editorials were sideliners. No editorial was published against the operation and neutral.

The News published 25 editorials on Lal Masjid issue. Out of these 25 editorials 14(56%) editorials were published in favor of operation, 2(8%) editorials were published against the operation, 9(36%) editorials were sideliners.

The News published 5 editorials before the operation on the Lal Masjid .out of these 5 editorials 3 (60%) editorials were published in favor of operation, 2(40%) editorials were sideliners. No editorial was neutral and against the operation.

The News published 20 editorials on the issue. Out of these 20 editorial 11(55%) editorial were in published in favor of operation, 2(10%) editorials were against the operation, and 7 (35%) editorial were sideliners and no neutral editorial.

From the analysis of measurement of editorials of both newspapers (Dawn and The News) it is find that length of editorials were increased after the operation.

Qualitative analysis

For the qualitative analysis the researcher analyze the wordings of editorials of both English newspaper (Dawn and The News). Dawn newspaper used words in its editorial on Lal Masjid issue like fanatics, sacred precincts, high-profile drama, rigorous, kingdom of heaven, criminality, obscurantist and phony man, inherent blackmailer, perfidious way, hardcore militants, religious fanatics, and gangsterism.

In comparison The News newspaper used word like drama, bewildered pupils, obscurantist, rigid, cynicism, suicidal fanaticism, ruckus, fanatical occupants. From the analysis of words of both newspaper (Dawn and The News) it is find that dawn used harsh words for the Lal Masjid issue especially against the Lal Masjid administration. The News used mild words on the Lal Masjid issue.

Dawn was sharper on the Lal Masjid issue as compare to the News. Both newspapers (Dawn and the News) used three words for the Lal Masjid administration and students, militants, extremists and terrorists. Dawn used word militant for Lal Masjid administration more than words extremists and terrorists while the News used word extremists more in its editorials.

CONCLUSION

In Pakistan English press (the Dawn, the News) is considered as the most popular, credible and responsible member of mass media. It has special status and prestige. People rely on the English press for in depth understanding of different current issues with the help of the editorials as editorial is the echo of a newspaper and the reflector of the newspaper policy .with reference to the issue of Lal Masjid our major English dailies (the Dawn ,the news) gave coverage to the issue.

Through a content analysis (both qualitative and quantitative) the study identifies that elite English press (the Dawn, the News) published a number of editorials on Lal Masjid issue and performed a watch dog role, the result show that “the News” published more editorials (25) on Lal Masjid as compared to “the Dawn” (18).Both English press supported the Lal Masjid operation. The tones of editorials of both English dailies were same before and after the operation. After the operation number of editorials of both dailies increased in number and also in their measurement this showed that they gave more coverage to this issue. After the operation they supported the government agenda as they were supporting the same before the operation. Dawn newspaper used more sharp and harsh wording in its editorials as compared to the News.

So it is concluded that media of Pakistan become biased on portraying the Lal Masjid issue because it was only supporting the government agenda. Media supported government agenda to form public opinion on operation in Lal Masjid. Media framed the issue of Lal Masjid and showed the issue as government want .Media indirectly supported the world agenda about Lal Masjid issue because world community also wanted a serious and strict action against Lal Masjid administration.

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